5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



scale raiding. He would discuss all important matters with vassal chiefs and with his noble deputies known as *Khalifas*. At present the Amenokal has three Khalifas two of whom live in his own camp, while the third is his representative in Tamesna, where many Tuareg of his drum-group live.

The Amenokal never had the right to part of the bride-wealth from marriages among his vassals, nor did he receive a camel at the death of a vassal as was customary for the drum-chief of the Kel Ferouan in Air. The Amenokal still has the right to the riding camel of any deceased vassal chief within his drum-group, but it should here be mentioned that the chief of the very important vassal clan, the Dag Rali, has the right to one of the Amenokal's riding camels on the latter's death.

As the representative of the Kel Rela drum-group the Amenokal is in certain cases entitled to property owned individually by his subjects. When a person dies without children or paternal kinsmen, his fortune is divided into six parts one part of which goes to his mother (or his mother's mother) while the remaining five parts are given to the Amenokal. In case the deceased person has no mother or mother's mother alive, the whole fortune of livestock is taken over by the Amenokal. He, however, will not himself make any use of the animals, but will leave them in the clan to which the deceased person belonged. They will there be under the supervision of the clan chief, who also has usufructs of them. Animals taken over by the Amenokal in this way are known as *ehere oua n effebel* ("the fortune of the drum-group"), or *ehere oua n boutelma* ("the fortune of the public").

The vassal clans of the Kel Rela drum-group pay an annual tribute known as *tiouse* to the Amenokal. The size of this payment varies from one clan to another. It is normally collected by the clan chiefs who send it to the Amenokal, but the three subclans of the Agouh-en-Tehele pay their tiouse separately as follows:– 1) The Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan: 600 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 5 goats and 15 kg of butter. The man who brings this payment to the Amenokal is rewarded with a gift of 15 metres of cotton. 2) The Isandan sub-clan: 300 kg of millet and, when grazing is good, 2 goats and 8 kg of butter. The man who brings this receives a gift of 11.5 metres of cotton. 3) The Kel Rafsa sub-clan: Like the payments from the Isandan.

The whole Dag Rali clan pays its tiouse as follows:– 12 bags of millet corresponding to 6 camel-loads are given to the clan chief, who will send 10 bags to the Amenokal, and keep two for himself. In case of good grazing the whole clan gives 10 goats and 6 containers of butter to the Amenokal.

One vassal clan, the Ait Loaien, does not make its tiouse payment to the Amenokal but to a Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Emori section of the Kel Rela. According to Lhote a certain family among the Dag Rali makes an annual payment to a noble Tuareg of the Inemba Kel Tahat section (Lhote 1955, p. 224). It is in fact possible that the Amenokal nowadays receives tiouse payments which ought to be made to other noble Tuareg. This I imply from the information from a man who told me that the Isandan sub-clan according to traditional rules should pay tiouse to a

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



considers the marriage suitable, and if the *Amenukal* agrees the father will have to yield to his son. If a man descending from parents of different tribes continues to live together with people of his father's tribe after his father's death, the chief of his mother's tribe may complain to the *Amenukal*, who will then order the man to take up residence with his maternal kinsmen. Nowadays the *Amenukal* can decide on the most personal problems of his subjects, and he is constantly visited by many Tuareg desirous of obtaining his advice. To-day when the two other drum-groups in Ahaggar have so to speak ceased to exist, the *Amenukal* has become the true supreme chief of all Ahaggar Tuareg in all possible matters, while in the past he had very little official authority over the two other drum-groups, who fought him, and even within his own drum-group it was very difficult for him to keep order. Sections and tribes among his own vassals frequently had severe quarrels with one another, and the Tuareg say that once in the past the two tribes of *Dag Rali* and *Kel Ahnet* quarreled over grazing grounds and fought each other, though officially their territories belonged to the drum-chiefs of their respective groups. Again, we see that during the revolt against the French in 1916–17, the drum-group of the *Kel Rela* did not act as a political unit. For though certain vassals followed the *Amenukal* in his order not to revolt, there were many vassals of his group who disobeyed his order.

The *Amenukal*'s power was not a very definite one. And it is clear that it was most difficult for him to prevent trouble between his subjects when he was not allowed to forbid them to take revenge in case of murder. However, it seems as if he has had important functions as an arbitrator in cases of a very different order, and that he was necessary to maintain the political system built up upon the division of the people into different classes and castes. He was also important in all cases concerning foreign policy, and he might call in for discussions of war and peace not only other noble Tuareg but also the chiefs of vassal tribes. Thus in spite of the fact that the *Amenukal*'s orders were not always obeyed there was a central government, and the *Amenukal* had three or four deputies known by the title of *Khalifa* to act as his representatives. These *Khalifas* were elected by the *Amenukal*. At present he has three *Khalifas* two of whom live with him in his own camp, while one lives in the Tamesna area where many Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* drum-group now dwell. It is possible that in the past the *Khalifas* were elected from the important noble sections of the *Kel Rela* tribe so that the central government of the drum-group corresponded structurally to the government of most vassal tribes; these have a chief (*Amɣar*) of the whole tribe which is subdivided into sections with *Khalifas* who represent their sections towards the chief.

Throughout the 19th century whole groups of Tuareg outside Ahaggar paid an annual tribute known as *tiwsé* to the *Amenukal*, to the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, or to other prominent noble Tuareg of Ahaggar in order to avoid raiding by the Ahaggar Tuareg. The noble Tuareg to whom *tiwsé* was paid by such foreign groups was most frequently the *Amenukal* of the *Kel Rela* drum-group, and the drum-chief of the *Taytoḳ*, but other influential noble Tuareg of the *Kel Rela* and *Taytoḳ* tribes might also receive *tiwsé* payments from foreign groups in order that they might not be raided by people belonging to these drum-groups. Some of these *tiwsé* matters are mentioned by Foucauld (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1347). The annual payments made for protection seem never to have been very large. Thus I was told in Ahaggar that Tuareg of the *Kel Adrar* gave annually a skin tent and a camel to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar, and the *Kel Tédalé* tribes of Northern Ayr are said to have given him a similar payment for protection.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



According to the *Agadez Chronicle* five tribes of the *Itésen* went out to discover a Sultan. They found him in a country written in translations *Arim Sotafan* (Palmer 1936, p. 55) or *A'arem-Cattafane* (Urvoy 1934, p. 154). The meaning of this word – correctly written *Arrem Settefen* – is "black town". This seems to indicate that the first Sultan came from a Sudanese state, and it is stated by all Tuareg that all known Sultans of Agadez have been Black-skinned. Even to-day it is claimed that although the Sultan can take a fair-skinned Tuareg woman as one of his wives, the descendants of such a marriage are never elected Sultans. Individuals who have ties of kinship with a particular Tuareg group are never chosen for that office.

The fact that the Sultan of Agadez has four ministers like most kings of Sudanese states (cf. Frobenius, Atlas Africanus, H.3; Baumann 1940, p. 58) may perhaps point to a connection between the establishment of the Ayr Sultanry and the Sudan, and this seems also to be intimated in the *Agadez Chronicle*. Nevertheless, the popular tradition about the origin of the Ayr Sultanry goes against this assumption. For it is told all over Ayr, both among Tuareg and the so-called *Imeggadezen*, that the first Sultan of Agadez came from Constantinople. This tradition, which is not mentioned in the *Agadez Chronicle*, is also claimed to be true by the present Sultan of Agadez. He says that the *Itésen* tribes, or representatives from these tribes, went to Constantinople to ask the Sultan to give them one of his sons as the first Sultan over Ayr. The Sultan of Constantinople had three fair-skinned wives who all refused to let their sons go to Ayr with the deputation. But he also had four black-skinned wives or concubines and the first of them who was asked to let her son become the Sultan over Ayr agreed. So it happened that the deputation of *Itésen* Tuareg returned to Agadez with their first Sultan who patrilineally is descended from the Sultan of Constantinople, matrilineally from a slave woman. There are some people who claim this tradition to be spurious, but it is admitted by most people as a true account of the origin of the Ayr Sultanry. Among the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg it is claimed that the Sultan was fetched by people of the *Kel Ferwan* group, or that the *Itésen* deputation was sent out to fetch the Sultan on the initiative of the *Kel Ferwan* group. This variation of the tradition is also recognized by the present Sultan.

In the *Agadez Chronicle* we are told that the Sultan at first had no permanent residence but led a nomadic life in the region of Tadeliza. It did not take long before he became permanently settled at Ti-n-Chaman from where he moved to Agadez which seem to have been founded as a city at the middle of the 15th century A.D., a centre of the then extremely flourishing trade through Ayr (cf. Rodd 1926a, p. 102, 364 f., 409; Urvoy 1936, p. 164).

The present Sultan *Umar*, who has reigned since 1919, says that the first Sultan who came to Ayr had the great task to learn the Ayr Tuareg good manners of living. Before the establishment of the Sultanry the whole country of Ayr had been dominated by the *Izyan* (of the Lake Tchad region) who had claimed as their annual tribute a young girl from all Tuareg tribes of Ayr. When the first Sultan arrived the Tuareg lived like donkeys in the rocks. They had extremely bad manners, and there were even people who married with their sisters. The Sultan taught them good manners and brought justice and order to the country. He was the true owner of the land from the northern outskirts of Ayr to the region of Madawa where the *Kel Geres* Tuareg now live. He divided the land between the main groups of Tuareg, and allotted to the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg who lived around Tafadek a large part of Ayr up to

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



there are no true vassals or *Imrad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeren* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temekkeret*. It is named after Anu-Mekkeren in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Arolla* (pl. *Irollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amrar* (pl. *Imraren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Irawelen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Itifnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Irollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Kadi.